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The paucity of research concerning the role of family and church in rural Appalachia leads to a reliance on observations and parallels drawn from research in related areas of sociology. Highly structured family and church group relations in the Appalachian region often obstruct both the development of other inter-group relations and attempts to bring about change of any kind. Contacts with other than family, relatives, and neighbors are rare, and an outsider is viewed suspiciously. In order for the economic planner to influence these rural families toward economic development, he must convince them of his genuine interest in the families' welfare. Programs of development in this region, therefore, will have to deal with this insulated resistance to change and cannot count on family and church institutions to aid in the change processes designed to improve the economic conditions of Appalachia. (DK)

CHURCH AND FAMILY IN MODERN RURAL APPALACHIA<sup>1</sup>C. L. Cleland<sup>2</sup>

At the outset let me state that there has been very little systematic work done in recent years on either the church or the family in Appalachia so a great deal of what I have to say must of necessity be based on my own observations, information gained from contact with students, and parallels drawn from research in related areas of sociology. After accepting the responsibility for the preparation of this paper, I had serious doubts about my ability to complete it given the paucity of relevant published material. It was only the stimulation of the reporting of other research at the 1967 meeting of the Rural Sociological Society that stirred my hopes that I could make some worthwhile contribution. It is left for you to decide whether or not that hope is realized.

Let us start with a brief review of the recent research both in the areas of the church and in that of the family. A clear distinction is made between these two institutions and is maintained throughout the paper although some attempt will be made later to point out parallels between them. In the area of the church the principal published source is the chapter of "Religion and the Churches" by Earl D. C. Brewer in The Southern Appalachian Region edited by Thomas R. Ford. In his summary, Brewer characterizes the situation as follows:

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Religion in the Region, especially in the rural areas, seems to be an intergral part of the folk culture, passed from generation to generation by word of mouth. This oral tradition, somewhat scrambled in transmission, appears to be largely independent of professional clergy or formal church life.<sup>3</sup>

Earlier he had indicated his survey found religion in the area to be dominantly sectarian and fundamentalist with respect to beliefs and attitudes, church practice, and general orientation toward society. He found church membership lists small and church leaders exerting little influence in other organizations in the community and concluded that if Christianity is to be meaningful and relevant, it must provide more and better leadership both in the clergy and the laity. The improvement required, he indicates, is leaders having "broader religious perspective, fuller cultural understanding, more effective organizational abilities, and greater material resources than in the past."

Jack Weller in Yesterday's People devoted a chapter to the relation to the church of the people in Southern West Virginia. With the insight gained from training in both sociology and theology and experience as a minister in the area, he comes to the conclusion that "The church in Appalachia is, beyond doubt, the most reactionary force in the mountains."<sup>4</sup> To Weller, this is one of the areas where changes need to be brought about, specifically by getting the churches to look at the needs of the whole man rather than limiting themselves to that which is exclusively spiritual. This, of course, is more easily said than done.

Dr. James Brown of the University of Kentucky has worked in the area of the family in an Appalachian community for some time.<sup>5</sup> He found distinct differences in the patterns of social interaction for those families in the top and bottom strata of the community but the migration patterns were strikingly similar for those at all social levels.<sup>6</sup> He also found that the family plays a very important part in the migration of individual family members by giving both in moral and financial support. The extended family gets involved here with aunts and uncles perhaps providing a place to eat or sleep during the transition period. The emphasis is on the strength of the family ties and the manner in which they pervade all aspects of social activities in the relatively isolated mountain community.

It is with the changing of some of these institutionalized patterns that we are concerned here. I assume that you are aware of the ethical questions involved in such an effort and that for you they have been resolved on the basis of the overwhelming good that can be achieved through manipulation of these institutions. From some of the questions raised in some of the small group discussions, it seems that the ethical question has not been completely resolved but for the present purposes we will assume that it has. Given this assumption, then, what are the conditions under which the church and the family in Appalachia can be influenced to promote the "development" of the region including such development the exertion of effort to achieve the maximum economic potential by the residents who at present have low income?

Those of you who have worked with the Extension Service for some time are very familiar with the technique of trying to get the person or group being worked with to feel that some idea is his own rather than the agent's. This usually involves some casual comment about the idea in private conversation with a request for the idea later in a public situation. The agent gets some private satisfaction that he has done his job and the person worked with gets the public acclaim for his contribution. Such public acclaim leads the person to be willing to express himself publicly at other activities and as long as these continue to provide satisfying experience, he grows increasingly self-confident. His idea of what he can contribute grows.

That this technique works is not questioned. Just how it can be set up is sometimes a problem but why it works is not too clear. There is also the problem of making it work for groups such as families or churches.

Some recent longitudinal research on farm boys' aspirations and achievements in educational and occupational areas gives some clues as to why this technique long used by Extension personnel and others has been successful.<sup>7</sup> In one sense, the study was examining the old heredity (or innate characteristics) versus environment argument as to which is more important in achieving success. The indicator used for heredity was IQ while that for environment was socioeconomic status, a family and household characteristic. The relations of these to grade point average in high school and to occupational aspiration were examined along with the further relation of all of these to occupational achievement some seven years after the initial survey.

In attempting to explain the results of the study the authors pointed out that IQ was more strongly related to Grade Point Average (G.P.A.) than was Socio-Economic Status (SES). The same was true for occupational aspiration. Occupational achievement was not closely related to either G.P.A. or SES but was more closely related to IQ. Without getting into the validity of the various measures, the grade point average was interpreted as indicating the extent to which the performance of the individual was given approval or disapproval by teachers. Such evidence from outside the self was seen as helping to define a self-image concerning one's ability to take on and successfully complete assigned tasks. On the other hand, the significant others in the student's life conveyed, directly or indirectly, the general type of activity or occupation, at least the occupational level, that would be desirable and to which the student should aspire. Members of one's own family are normally significant others so the SES of the family would tend to influence occupational aspirations through the contacts with other adults at approximately the same SES level. The occupations of these other adults would tend to be the field of occupations from which the student would pick. The influence of the significant others was found to go beyond the aspirations and to carry on through the achievement of those aspirations.<sup>8</sup>

At this point I would like to digress a bit to respond to one of this morning's reactors. Professor Hall indicated that he had found the aspirations of Appalachian people to be in the "expressive" or "integrative" realm, that is, seeking to be in good relation with

friends and kin rather than in the "instrumental" or seeking the possession of this world's goods area. I want to take exception to this and to illustrate briefly why I do so.

I have yet to encounter a young man living back in a "holler" who wouldn't like to have a shiny, new automobile. I've said "like to" rather than "aspire to" because some psychological mechanism keeps him from feeling that there is any real possibility that he could ever own a brand new car. This is not to say he wouldn't purchase one if the opportunity ever presented itself.

Two experiences with farm operators tend to bear out that those "secret" and sometimes not-so-secret desires are satisfied if at all possible. One of these was in connection with the Farm and Home Development program as it was carried out in Wisconsin. It seems that the farm family being worked with had achieved some success their first year in the program but most of the gain was in the amount of hay and silage that was stored in the barn at the end of the season. A careful budget was worked out to utilize these resources the following year. This worked fine so that the beginning of the third year found them with a fairly substantial cash surplus. This, too, was carefully budgeted and was to include the purchase of a larger tractor to make the operation even more profitable. When the agent visited again a week after completion of the budget, he was somewhat taken back to find a spanking, new car in the driveway. The budget had to be revised.

The second farmer was a tenant on a Tennessee experimental tenure program. The family income for his family had only been

\$300 to \$500 per year in the preceding years. Again, most of the first year's success showed up in the stock to be carried over into the second year. The estimated total income (if it had been converted to cash) was about \$1800. Success really took hold the second year and the income jumped to nearly \$4000 a substantial part of which was cash on deposit in the bank. Well, one morning just before time to prepare seed beds for planting, the family was missing. They stayed missing for two weeks! It seems the father had "always" had a desire to go to New Orleans and this was the first time he had ever even been close to being able to go. This set back the program temporarily but he was an excellent tenant for the rest of the program.

These two cases illustrate, I think, the fact that the interest in things and experiencss is in these poor farm and other rural people. They just seldom have an opportunity to splurge on such things and the self-image they possess must exclude these as possibilities. Now let's get back to significant others.

There are many unknowns when it comes to significant others. They can be most anyone with whom the individual comes in contact and so may be peer group members or elders (either slightly older or a great deal older). At any rate, they are people whose judgment the individual trusts and whose most casual statements may be given great significance.

The interaction of the self-image promoted by the G.P.A. and the influence of significant others tends to produce a strong

achievement orientation when both are positive. When both are negative, the psychic energy needed to sustain the effort required for long range goal achievement is simply not available. When the two disagree, the outcome is likely to be confusion and frustration with a consequent selection of an unrealistically high occupational status goal and ineffective effort toward achieving it.

Although there is no empirical evidence to support the contention, it appears to me that there is a direct parallel to the group situation as the foregoing applies to the individual. In the following sections, the pattern will be applied to the family and the church with special attention to families and churches in rural Appalachia.

#### Application to the Family

For the family, the hereditary equivalent includes the skills and characteristics of family members. The image facet of this comes from the types of jobs family members hold and their contributions to organizations in which they are involved.

The environmental situation includes the house in which the family resides, the immediate neighborhood with its people and homes, the community within which the wage earners work, and the close relatives with which family members keep in close touch. This environment provides both the cultural resources to which the family has access and most of the significant others whose opinions are so important to the family members. The environment for many families in rural Appalachia is very limited with respect

to the physical resources in the labor saving, food perserving, and communication facilities areas but there is no shortage of significant others. There are, perhaps, ten percent of these families without such basic equipment as mechanical washing machines or a mechanical refrigerator.<sup>9</sup> In the realm of communications facilities, very few of these Appalachian households have a library with more than 25 or 30 books in it but nearly all have radios and probably 90 percent have television. Telephones are still not immediately available for many and very few subscribe to magazines other than trade journals or magazines primarily for women.

The significant others for these families are principally the close relatives who live nearby but members of the same church or work crew or fishing and hunting friends will also be included among those whose opinions count. Most of these "others" are at about the same educational, occupational, and socioeconomic level and their casual comments about the way the family lives, their social involvement, their participation in governmental programs and activities, and the quality of the home and its furnishings tend to reinforce the image that the family is little different from others in the area and that this is good.

One of the increasingly frequent opportunities to interact with neighbors on a regular and informal basis is in the car pool as area residents make the daily run to non-farm jobs outside the community. This tends to be especially true for the younger males in the area as they learn of job opportunities through near neighbors

and friends. Since these opportunities are normally at or very near the same location as that at which the neighbor or friend works, then some arrangement to reduce the cost of transportation to and from the job is easily made. The car pool is probably the most frequent pattern but the employer may provide a truck or small bus if the job involves construction at first one place and then another.

While the time it takes to commute to work may not be very great, say from twenty to forty minutes or an hour, over a period of a few months the total amount of contact becomes quite large. The opportunity to discuss even minor events at some length is certainly present since all or many of the car pool members are intimately familiar with the home locality and the residents of the area. The topics of conversation considered appropriate to such a group will vary from one group to the next but any public action is clearly acceptable whether it be for praise or (more frequently) for criticism. There is certain to be discussion of political office holders and candidates for such offices if the pool members do not disagree too violently in their politics. There will also be discussions of major purchases by families in the area and of efforts to remodel homes or other structures. These discussions will include comments as to how the family could afford to make the change along with some evaluation of the wisdom of such a change. In the process, of course, the car pool members get a rather clear idea of what the neighbors expect of other residents

in the community and ideas of what they themselves should or should not be doing or try to do, and at least some of the information and opinions exchanged get back to the families of those involved. In this way there is communication between friends and neighbors in the area but the family channels are also very important.

While there has been a great deal of migration from the area on the part of young people, there has also been a substantial continuation of the pattern of the newly married couple building or renting a house within a mile or two of the parents of either the husband or the wife or possibly both. Depending on the circumstances, the residence obtained may be new and soundly built but more often it is an older house in the area or a mobile home in the yard next to the parent's house. Being within commuting distance to some kind of work opportunity is perhaps the major requirement for the persistence of this pattern.

Whatever the reasons for its persistence, the proximity of parents or in-laws permits frequent contact by the wife if she is not working and most wives in rural Appalachia do not have the opportunity to work. The factor limiting these contacts is usually the availability of transportation. Where the residences are really close together, the contact with relatives may be daily or nearly so but the usual pattern is only once every week or two. Visits with nonrelatives are just about as frequent.

The rationale for these visits is frequently to borrow something or to ask some particular question but the visit comes to be expected and the cessation of visiting suggests either illness or

ill feelings. While some socially acceptable excuse is provided for the visit and that bit of "business" is taken care of, the conversation is likely to touch on a wide variety of topics. While some comments may focus on events at the county, state or national level, the majority will be concerned with matters which are more strictly local such as who said what at the last church social and the apparent state of relations within the various families of the neighborhood. This is also the opportunity for the exchange of information on personal physical condition and the various remedies that can be used (or tried) to correct them. These are the contacts which supplement about the only other contact women in this area have with others which is through the church. More will be said about the nature of contacts through the church later.

There are, of course, some contacts with other families in the area through the school and activities associated with it but the number of parents in rural Appalachia having such contacts is relatively small. The tendency is clearly for the school to be seen as an operation involving the teachers and the children, and the family has nothing to do with it except as the children get involved in conflicts either with the teacher or with other children.

One other source of contact with people both in and out of the immediate area needs to be mentioned. This is the family reunion which is an event of considerable importance in many Appalachia neighborhoods. In most instances this is a very informal affair with most of the immediate descendants of one couple with their

spouses and offspring gathering at the time of some state or national holiday in the home of the older couple. The sleeping arrangements for those who have gathered are frequently rather makeshift with some of the overflow being farmed out to close friends and kinfolks living nearby. The feeding of such a gathering becomes a major undertaking and there is usually some contribution of labor or food or both on the part of all of those in attendance. Mealtime is when all are gathered together regardless of age or station in life and it serves as the focal point for the reunion. At other times the women are together either preparing for or cleaning up after the meal and exchanging information about their children or about family friends or more distant relatives who are not present. Most such reunions are annual affairs and usually do not last for more than a day or two.

At times the reunion can serve to bring about some improvement in the home or some part of the facilities of the older couple. Here is a situation in which there is manpower available for a short time and an older parent who feels that his sons and sons-in-law might like to be of assistance, particularly in ways that require a minimum outlay of money. With a little bit of advance planning in order to have the appropriate materials on hand including some work clothes for those who might not come prepared, a great deal can be accomplished in a short time and all of those involved can leave with a feeling of satisfaction in having made a contribution to the improvement of both the physical and mental states of the older parents. Such activities serve to keep the family ties strong

through reinforcement of the feelings of dependence upon one another. The self-images of families are constantly reinforced by such contacts and the aspirations that family members have in such a situation are likely to be quite limited.

It may be that security, which is valued highly by families in rural Appalachia, gets defined as having some real estate that is debt-free so the aspiration gets to be owning the home, no matter how humble, free of indebtedness. Other aspirations may deal with shorter term concerns such as where the money is coming from to pay tomorrow's or next week's bills. Some of these concerns lend themselves to fantasy solutions and may entice the family members to becoming involved in contests where the winnings would solve all of the immediate financial problems. More realistic aspirations are frequently in terms of finding steady work for family members, preferably within commuting distance, so the family can count on a stable income. The principal interests have to do with maintaining family health and seeing that the children get an education.

The question of how to influence these rural families in such a way as to bring them into the mainstream of economic development is not an easy one. With a self-image which has developed over a long period of time and is reinforced daily with interaction within the family and comparison of the home environment with other homes in and near the community, change due to pressures from external sources will normally be quite slow. Unless the solutions offered fit into the existing family self-image, the first change required is in the self-image itself and such changes take time. To influence

the self-image the outsider must become a significant other so far as the family is concerned and this means that the family members must be convinced that the outsider has a genuine interest in the family's welfare.

Development of such a relationship takes time and may be virtually impossible because of the awareness of the outsider being very different. Such indicators of difference include the type of car driven, the style of clothing worn, the vocabulary used in conversation or the seeming lack of responsibility to or for a family and suggest that the outsider does not share the family's problems and is in no position to really understand or be truly helpful. Since it is also unlikely that the outsider will be around enough to be helpful in making the day-to-day decisions, there may be a tendency to use whatever he has to offer in the solution of immediate minor problems. Such an attitude on the part of family members may thoroughly antagonize the outsider to the point that he writes the family off as a poor prospect for effectively utilizing the assistance he has to offer. He fails to follow through in his dealings with the family, thereby confirming their conviction that he was not really interested in their welfare anyway. The reasons given for approaching the family in the first place along with observable reactions, verbal and non-verbal, to the family situation and the continuation or termination of further contacts will all contribute to the family self-image. The contribution may be relatively minor or it may call the family's attention to the fact that it fits a particular category or configuration with which the family had not previously identified

itself. Reference to an older farm operator as being of retirement age is an example.

In a discussion with a brother who is working in the area of vocational rehabilitation, it was suggested that applying for welfare assistance is a last resort for most people because it forces them to admit that they are failures. There apparently is a hierarchy of sources from which assistance is sought before failure is admitted. The first of these is the close friend (on the promise that he won't let anyone else know of the difficulty). The second is the respected elder in the community whose counsel is regarded highly. Third, help is sought from a lawyer or other professional where the relationship is on the paying client basis. At least there is the promise to pay and the self-respect is clearly maintained. Finally, when all else has failed, public assistance is sought and the self-image created is that of a failure. The problem then becomes one of re-defining this self-image for the individual and the family. Resolution of this problem is seriously hampered by some of the existing welfare laws.

The point is that the family self-image is a reasonably stable conception and the family aspirations are in terms of such an image. Outsiders must become significant others if they are to be influential and this takes time and frequent contacts. The relative isolation of the rural Appalachia family with its very low level of involvement in formal organizations, minimal education, and extremely limited resources make it difficult to influence. Add to this the similarity of self-image of the significant others in the community and the

opportunity for continuous reinforcement within the family group and the surprising fact is that as many change as do.

### The Rural Church

Churches also have images which set limits on what the church as a group feels is appropriate behavior for the group as a whole or for individuals acting in the name of the church. There are included in the church membership people with a variety of skills which are at least potentially available for the use of the church. This constitutes the innate capacity upon which the church may draw and is subject to change from time to time.

The environment for the church consists primarily of the community in which the members live and more particularly the non-church members who live in the community. In this instance, the community includes individuals, families, and other formal and informal groups that may be functioning in the general vicinity when these are more or less regularly in contact with church members, identified as such, or with the church as a formal organization. It would also include the physical structure in which the church met as a group.

The image that church members have of the church is greatly influenced by indications of recognition from sources outside the congregation. One such is recognition by the state of the church as a corporate entity which can borrow money or enter into contract with individuals or other corporations. The exemption from taxation of contributions to the church is another form of recognition. Formal

indications by a parent church body or denominational organization of the value and effectiveness of the church program would have a substantial impact on the image.

Sources of influence in the environment of the church would include the significant other individuals and groups within the community and beyond. These could include leaders in the community, friends, and associates of the church leaders, minister-friends of the minister, respected members of the denominational hierarchy and outspoken critics of the church and its policies.

The self-image of an individual can change fairly rapidly because the image is largely the product interaction with others in the environment. For a group, however, the modification of the image is rather slow. The reason for this is that the group members who have the image interact and tend to reinforce the image in terms of the day-to-day activities of the group. When some variation from the usual activities becomes a possibility, there is normally some discussion of what has been done by the group in times passed and just how the proposed activity fits in with past activities. If, for example, social dancing has not been permitted on the church premises before and a church social is being planned which is intended to interest the teenagers still in the neighborhood, then someone might suggest that "folk games" be included as part of the activities. The attempt will be made by some to make a clear distinction between folk games and social dancing. They will be attempting to point out that such an activity is consistent with the image of the church or at least not clearly inconsistent. To make their point, they will

mention other churches in the denomination or in closely related denominations that permit this type of activity, thus using a reference group containing some of the significant others for this particular church group.

Others within the church who have a different conception of the church image, will call attention to still other churches which do not permit any type of dancing and which come closer to the ideal that they seek for this particular church. The first time such a suggestion is made, the discussion of its merits may be very short with the general concensus being that it is very inconsistent with the church image. The very fact that it is suggested as a possibility at one time means that it is likely to sound not so strange the next. If it keeps coming up through the years, it is quite possible that some accommodation will eventually be made. This is especially so as the older members of the church pass out of the picture, at least so far as setting policy is concerned.

The point is that the group self-image, which may have been quite flexible at the time of formation of the group, tends to become rather rigid with the passage of time as a tradition gets built up with day-to-day decisions. The opportunity for interaction within the group permits reinforcement of the decisions and the relative influence of significant others is diminished even though the external situation which first brought about the decision may have changed. This becomes a path of least resistance which internal interaction systematically reinforces.

For many of the churches in the rural areas of the region, the initial development came as the result of energetic activity on the part of some relatively young leaders. The motivating factor might have been dissent within another church group, response to either formal or informal missionary effort or the dedication of some relative newcomer to the need for a church within which he would feel comfortable. But most of this local leadership was poorly educated and even though the native intelligence may have been excellent, the comprehension of the broad needs of the congregation and vision of the possible roles of the church in serving them was not great. The environment was also poor in terms of resources of the surrounding community and its complexity measured in terms, say, of the number of formal organizations per hundred households. Significant others came largely from the same community and differed little in formal education or experience from those engaged in the organization of the church and so contributed little. Affiliation with a denomination was most frequently with those which had a minimum of organizational strength or restrictions on the qualifications of the minister to the congregation. While the degree of identification with the particular denominational name might be great, the allegiance to any governing body or central organization was weak, thus tending to make the local congregation virtually autonomous.

The organizational pattern and the activities, then, became virtual carbon copies of other churches in the area with minor variations. It might be said that the image of what the church

could be in the minds of the organizers, as limited and the organization that developed may well have fallen short of that vision due to the problem of communication between those with little formal education. As time passed and the day-to-day decisions became traditions, the membership of the church changed little and the leadership remained in the hands of the oldest members even though the quality of their experience was poor. So, today, there are many churches in rural Appalachia that are bound by traditions which have little meaning given today's situation.

In terms of the day-to-day functioning of the churches, there are many patterns. These range from the vigorous and regular activities of a few of the churches partially supported by the major denominations to the almost casual functioning of some of the smaller churches with weak ties to any denominational group. Most of the churches fall somewhere between these two extremes but the majority are more like the smaller churches with somewhat infrequent or irregular meetings.

In one county in Tennessee there are fifty-nine churches in the open country and only thirteen have services each Sunday. Ten more have two services each month while the rest have services only one Sunday or one weekend each month. The churches with the one weekend per month pattern actually have two services that weekend with one on Saturday evening and the other on Sunday morning. One-fourth of the churches in this county have been in existence for nearly a hundred years or more so they are not just organizations of passing interest. Average membership is about one hundred

including men, women, and children and in a county where the median family income in 1959 was just over \$2000, these churches obviously have very small budgets on which to operate.

The combination of small churches with infrequent meetings operating with a minimum of funds is indicative of the very strong feelings the people in the area have for their churches even though they can ill afford to keep them going. The strong feelings also lead to antagonism between the various churches on occasion. But there are also feelings of mutual interest and respect which is evidenced by the pattern of church attendance where the members of those churches not having services on a given Sunday frequently attend the services at one of the other churches in the county. Some of the ministers serve two or three churches and many of the members of the various churches served attend the services their minister is giving wherever that may be. To the outsider and to some of the denominational leaders, it is difficult to see any reason for maintaining several rather poor church structures when the families in the area could quite easily commute to one larger and much better equipped building in which could be developed a much more diversified program. There is a very strong tradition in the area, however, to cling to that which is familiar and to keep the outlay of cash to a minimum.

The group involved in any given church is seen very much as an extended family group. Indeed, in many rural churches a great many of the members are related to one another either by blood or marriage and the church itself is closely identified with the family as a unit. To let a church go out of existence in this circumstance

is interpreted as being disloyal to the family and the elder members of the church tend to encourage such feelings.

As in every institution, the young members are the ones interested in bringing about change. When this interest is encouraged and abetted by an influential adult, eventually some changes do take place. In some of the churches affiliated with larger denominations, there is an active effort made to involve the young people in activities which include young people from other churches. In one Tennessee county where the Methodist minister serves three churches which are fifteen to twenty miles apart, a young people's meeting is held each Sunday evening which alternates between the three churches. The minister makes it a point to pick up as many as he can from the other churches to encourage their attendance. In the process, of course, the young people get to know others over a wider area and to know that there are alternative ways of doing things in connection with church activities. This pattern of larger involvement is clearly encouraged in the Methodist churches as part of the pattern of organization into districts and sub-districts with interaction taking place on a regular basis at each level. This does take some time and a little money as there are always projects to provide a cause around which the members of the organization can rally, but the interests and contacts of the young people are greatly stimulated.

For some of the smaller denominations where the churches are virtually isolated units with tenuous ties to the other churches in the denomination, the young people have little contact outside and no organized program other than Sunday School. If anything, contacts are discouraged.

The Sunday routine for the family usually starts by getting ready for the morning services and/or Sunday School in the best clothes available. No stigma is attached to not wearing a suit with white shirt and tie, and many members of the congregation will be dressed in their most recently acquired working clothes. Whatever is worn, however, will be clean and neatly pressed. The family then goes to the church as a group.

The time of the church service will vary somewhat depending on when the minister is available. The most preferred time is Sunday morning at ten or eleven o'clock but Sunday afternoon at two is not unusual. Where there is a Sunday School, it usually lasts from forty-five minutes to an hour with the worship or preaching service also lasting about an hour. The minister is usually a man but the Sunday School teachers most frequently are women. In the smaller churches, the Sunday School classes are composed of a rather broad range of ages without regard to sex and these are taught in one corner of the sanctuary rather than each class having its own separate room, although there may be a curtain to provide at least visual separation. The technique used by the teacher is mostly that of lecturing with only limited opportunity for the students to raise questions or otherwise actively participate. She also uses a minimum of visual aids and materials that the students can take home with them. The students get their chance to speak when they show that they have learned the memory verses that were assigned the week before.

Unlike most urban churches where the congregation disperses promptly after the morning service, those who attend the rural churches take advantage of the presence of their friends and relatives following the service to exchange greetings and bits of news or views about recent events. These exchanges take anywhere from fifteen minutes to an hour or more depending in part on the time of the service and the nature of the weather. If the service ends at or near noon, there is some pressure from family members to get home for Sunday dinner which is treated as something of a special occasion. This pressure may not be so great if the weather is especially pleasant and, if the service is held in the early afternoon, fully half of the congregation may still be around forty-five minutes to an hour after the service is over.

Because of the interest in being together after the service, many rural churches have picnic dinners following the morning service during the summer. Where this is a more or less regular occurrence the church usually has some tables that are used for the picnic. The food is provided by individual families with each one bringing an ample supply for the members of that family. When the table is spread, the usual pattern is for each family to eat the food it has provided but with a great willingness to share if someone is interested in a particular item. A stranger or visitor to the service is welcome to join in the repast and refusal to do so may be taken as a slight. After participating in such an affair once or twice, the newcomer would be expected to make ~~some~~ contribution, as his means permit, to remain in the good graces of the group.

For picnics the family, at least the parents, will normally be found together. The children will drift off to be with other children just as soon as the eating is over, however. At other times there is likely to be some separation of the sexes. This separation is seen before the service with the men standing around outside while the women occupy themselves inside with the Sunday School classes, flower arrangements and planning for the next social or how to aid some member family that is in need of assistance. This is the time when opinions tend to be expressed rather freely and the range of topics is virtually unlimited.

For the very smallest of the churches there is a minimum of division into subgroups with a variety of special interests which get together more or less regularly. The choir is one group that meets at some other time than during the Sunday service. This time might be just shortly before the service but more frequently the practice takes place some weekday evening either at the church or at the home of the choir director. Another group found in many churches is a women's group whose principal stated purpose is the support of mission activities either at home or abroad. Involvement in such groups tends to be limited to older women who no longer have small children at home to occupy so much of their energies. Tensions in the relations of church members often build around the activities of these subgroups where certain projects become the special province of certain individuals. Encroachment by another or lack of recognition for some contribution that the contributor believes to be significant are the principal sources of such tension. Personal

animosities developed during such episodes can continue for years and tend to diminish the strength of the church for cooperative efforts.

As with any organization that meets with regularity, the rural churches find that they need a period of rejuvenation from time to time. The minister may also feel the need for a change of pace and the satisfaction of these two needs may be combined in the holding of a "revival." Usually some other minister is brought in for the week or so of the revival although the regular minister may decide to do it himself. The revival minister is a colorful and persuasive speaker and he may spend most of the summer going from one revival to the next. The revivals themselves usually start on Sunday and go through the rest of the week but there is no set procedure. There is a service each evening which includes gospel singers with or without instrumental accompaniment, singing by the congregation, the taking of a collection and preaching by the minister which concludes with an impassioned call for the sinners present to come to the front of the meeting room as a public expression of their desire to be "saved." Those who do come forward are counselled briefly and welcomed into the fold of the believers in Christ.

The expenses involved in conducting a revival are usually quite small with the money collected at the meetings going to the preacher and the musicians. Sometimes the amount collected is quite small but there is usually more than enough to cover the expenses of those involved and sometimes the amount received is quite substantial in spite of the meager incomes of the people in the congregation. In this connection there is sometimes controversy over whether the

collection plate should be passed before or after the preaching because of the anticipated effect of the service on the size of the contribution the people present will make. Most rural ministers are completely sincere in their conviction about the rightness of their work and find real joy in the influence they can have on others but there are a few who take undue advantage of the relatively uneducated rural dweller and his susceptibility to emotional outpourings for their own financial benefit. Whatever their motives there can be no question but that they have a great deal of influence on the members of their congregations.

The outsider's image of the church in rural Appalachia tends to be influenced by the newsworthy incidents that get reported in the mass media. Most of the activities are not considered newsworthy, however, so little publicity is given to the day-to-day events that are the essence of the church. The impact on rural Appalachia of these churches with their emphasis on the rewards in the hereafter is very great. Part of the reason for the strength of the influence is the sheer number of churches that exist throughout the region. As neighborhood institutions, they fill a real need for rural dwellers, especially the women, who have little contact with people outside their own families. Such social contact helps them to feel that they are in touch with the real world and that they are worthy contributors in a situation where everyone is dependent to some extent on everyone else. The need to maintain such feelings provides the lever whereby the rural churches shape the members' belief systems and ideas about what behavior is socially acceptable and desirable.

Programs of development in the Appalachian Region will have an effect on and will be affected by the institutions of the church and the family in the area. As such development programs provide individuals with skills that are saleable in the larger labor market of the country and give them increasing breadth of experience, the dependence upon the family will decrease as will the image of the limited capacity of the family for achievement. At the same time there will be cries that the family ties are being loosened and that family members no longer care for one another. Similarly with the church, except that the cries will be louder and the resistance somewhat better organized. Given the lack of concern with things of this world, however, the resistance to change on the part of the church will exhibit itself in the apathy it creates in the members so they will have little inclination to take advantage of opportunities which are provided rather than in making energetic attacks upon the programs themselves. In short, neither the family nor the church as institutions can be counted on heavily for substantial assistance to those who would improve the economic condition of Appalachia.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Paper prepared for presentation at a conference on "Rural Southern Appalachia in Transition" sponsored by the West Virginia University Appalachian Center in Morgantown, West Virginia, October 19, 1967.
2. Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.
3. Earl D. C. Brewer, "Religion and the Churches," in Thomas R. Ford (editor), The Southern Appalachian Region (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962), p. 218.
4. Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 126.
5. James S. Brown, The Family Group in a Kentucky Mountain Farming Community, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 588, June 1952; and The Farm Family in a Kentucky Mountain Neighborhood, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 587, August 1952.
6. James S. Brown, "Social Class Origins, Migration and Economic Live Chances: A Case Study of a Rural-Urban Migration System." Paper presented at the 1964 meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Montreal, Canada.
7. William H. Sewell, Archibald O. Haller, and Alejandro Portes, "Educational and Occupational Achievements of Wisconsin Farm Boys." Paper presented to joint session of the Rural Sociological Society and American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, August 1967.
8. Ibid., p. 30.
9. Such was the proportion found in seven central Appalachia low-income counties in 1960 and the pattern appears to have changed little with a resurvey in 1966.